/87 cont./
291 sandals. Some old women still preserve rudiments of the ancient,
[774] pre-Colombian costume. Like the Čipaya, they twist a piece of
black material around their bodies, fasten it at the shoulders
with two needles, and pull in the waist with a belt (Pl. V, B
/see p. 25/). They have modernized this costume by stitching
the edge left unfinished in former times; thus they have a sort of
291 tunic or sari. The dark color of this dress and that of the belt,
531 which is an indispensable accessory to it, bear witness to the taste
of the Uro for material of a neutral or somber tone. Their shawls
are generally black or brown, and the fabrics originating in this
region are characterized by their uniform tone and by the
simplicity of the decorative motifs (Pl. V, C-D /see p. 29/).

286 Neither the material which I have seen made by the Uro
women, nor their weaving looms (Pl. III, C /see p. 22/) present
any details worth mentioning.

Social Organization and Religion

621 The information I gathered on their social organization is,
unfortunately, not very explicit. They are divided into clans,
[619] a list of which was dictated to me; these are: Titikana, Kenko,
Kama, and Kuipa. The group is also divided into two moities:
[810] anan-saya and mana-saya, the Uro names for which are ti ačai
and xanača. These may be translated by their Aymara equiva-
622 lent: "section above" and "section below." Authority at
Ancoaqui is exercised by the hilakata, who wear a necklace as
the insignia of their function. The Uro name for this office is
derived from the word which designates this ornament (xoxatarčiri:
693 "wearer of necklace"). They have a corregidor (čapi čapiri)
who resides at Jesus de Machaca (?).

771 Religion. In the course of my brief stay at Ancoaqui I
could only make /88/ some hasty observations on survivals of
paganism among the Uro Indians. They are as good and as bad

A. Male Uru Indian dressed in [illegible] costume.

B. Uru woman.

C. Little Uru girl.

D. Uru cholita.

[End Plate V]

[See reverse on next page.]

Smithsonian--13th C-S (1930-1931) 1930, 1938 9734 Uru 9734

Cayapa-
Chimpu

Plate XVII

A. – Bowl used for making libations of chicha. The animals modeled at the bottom are a llama and its young.

B. – Small earthen llama worshiped during certain festivals.

C. – Bag with red and yellow motifs (b&b).

D. – Wooden mug used during certain religious ceremonies to offer up libations.

E. – Woven bag (b&b).

Caranga:—
Čipaya

/168 cont./

In hunting water birds the Čipaya use a straw rope ending with a knot the size of a fist (Fig. 4. C /see p. 157/). This weapon corresponds exactly to the bola perdida of the ancient Patagonians, with the difference that among the latter the terminal ball was of stone. Aside from this the principle of these two weapons is the same. This is the first time that the bola perdida has been found elsewhere than at the southern end of South America. Its presence among the Čipaya is one more argument in favor of the archaic character of this culture trait.

The Uro Indians of the Desaguadero hunt the water birds which swarm in the totorales with bolas, two weights of which are wooden, and the third a small pyriform stone. The rope of this projectile is rolled up in very tough black thread. If the weapon does not reach its goal it floats on the water, and the Indians have only to pick it up with their balsas. /169/ /Figure 4 appears here./

/170/ Clothing

Men's wear. The essential piece of men's wear is a square shirt (ira) made of thick, stiff woolen cloth. It is a kind of sack with openings for the head and arms (Fig. 5. G /see p. 163/). As a result of its width the upper part of this shirt falls on the shoulders practically down to the elbow. The ira was formerly the only garment of the Čipaya, as it still is for young boys up to the age of ten. At a doubtlessly recent date, the Čipaya adopted the pants that they wear under their tunic. By making the latter bunch at the waist on a cord which takes the place of a belt for them, they have transformed it into a blouse, while keeping its original length which was enough to cover them down to mid-leg. The ira is the best product of Čipaya textile art. The decoration of this article of clothing invariably consists of a blue border and small brown and white strips separated by black lines. None of these dyes is aniline.

[Text continues on P. 158]

Carangas — Chipaya

/171 cont./

29 17

this we call it manta, although the name the Indians give it is yacolla." /Cited in Spanish./

In the Museum of Ethnography in Göteborg there is a magnificent piece of fabric from the coast of Peru which presents the same characteristics as the modern Čipaya cloaks and which was certainly used in the same way. The Čipaya ponchos are very short and display no [531] peculiarities. Their only decoration is the strips of colors.

29 17

The men's outfit is completed by a knitted wool helmet with two flaps which cover the ears (Fig. 5, C /see p. 163/). This is the famous Aymara chullo. The famous felt hats (skara) worn by both sexes in the entire Andean region has become more and more widespread in Chipaya as well as the pants. They have not yet succeeded in destroying the picturesque archaism of the area. The [286] material for the pants is made in the village of Chipaya on a treadle loom of the European type.

293

Bags (kăls) are a part of Čipaya clothing because they are never separated from it. These bags, which are worn thrust through the belt, are of various kinds. There are small ones with vivid [531] colors and geometric ornamentation, others which are simpler with black lines on a grey background, and finally large ones covered with a kind of velvet, i.e., with tufts of fine wool slipped into the weave (Fig. 4, B /see p. 157/). The last are the most expensive. I also bought in Chipaya small leather pouches /172/ made of the skin of a young llama's neck pulled off without a side incision and with the fur (Fig. 4, I).

291

Women's dress. The costume of the women has remained as it was several centuries ago, and it is the main factor which contributes to giving Chipaya its so clearly pre-Columbian look. Here also the general law which will have it that women, as soon as we abandon our urban centers, remain attached to tradition and to old ways more faithfully than men is verified.

/172 cont./

291 Next to the skin the women wear a square shirt (almil'a), which is identical in form to the masculine shirt (ira), although narrower (Fig. 5, B /see p. 163/). It is wide enough to make the shoulder line fall on the arm. Blue sleeves are sewn to the shirt. This accessory is modern as is proved by the name mankasa (from the Spanish: manga, sleeve) by which the Indians call it.

The Čipaya women wrap their bodies in a large piece of cloth (urku) which they pass under the arms and the ends of which, lifted to the shoulders, are held together with a cactus spine or a silver pin (kits, pāz-kits). This tunic is held at the waist by a large belt invariably decorated with brown and black chevrons (Pl. III, C /see p. 212/). Most of the women sew the lower part of this garment from the waist down on the side so as to make a skirt. This [177] [947] innovation, post-Columbian in origin, dates from the beginning of the Conquest and was imposed by the ecclesiastical authorities to safeguard the decency of their flock.

The urku is made of material woven with great care, brown or black in color and ribbed. It is always adorned above and below with a beige strip with white stripes. A specimen at the Museum of Ethnography at the University of Tucumán measures 1.58 meters by 1.36 meters. Over this tunic is thrown a long brown or black mantle (talu) which falls down the back to the knees and which is pinned at the breast. This garment is still worn by all the women of [191] the Andean region (lliclla), but whereas the Aymara and Quichua [53] Indians like to make it with varied motifs and bright colors alternating, the Čipaya are satisfied to decorate it with a white strip crossed with fine dark stripes (Pl. I, A, B, C /see p. 210/). The mantle of the Čipaya women is, in addition, much longer than that of the other [171] Indian women of the altiplano. It is only on the banks of the Titicaca that I met some women whose lliclla were as long as in Chipaya. These Indian women no doubt came from some distant village in the interior.

/172 cont./

291 To protect themselves from the rays of the sun the Čipaya women put /173/ /Figure 5 appears here/ /174/ a folded cloth (unkuña) on their head, which makes a sort of Neapolitan headgear for them. If it rains they tie it under the chin as do many European peasant women. The small square of cloth is made of a fabric [53] identical to the mantle; like the latter it is brown or black and bordered on two sides with a fine-striped white strip.

Style of Wearing the Hair

302 The men cut their hair in a circle all around the head. The women part it in about 60 small plaits (skuru) separated by a part and joined together in two bunches in the middle of the back (Pl. V, A, C /see p. 214/). They then make two large braids intermingled with woolen strings, the ends of which are tied to each 301 other by small strings. On these strings are hung small bronze pendants (laurake), the original type of which, still kept to this day, is a small statuette representing a woman with hands crossed on the breast (Fig. 14 /see p. 199/).

The women decorate their hair in addition with metal needles (kits, pāz-kits, kxoła), the round, flat head of which is perforated with a hole from which a red wool string hangs (Fig. 5, D /see p. 163/). In former times, probably for festivals, they would encircle the forehead with a headband, of which I was able to acquire one last specimen reproduced here (Fig. 5, A). The glass [71] beads which spangle the surface are very old in appearance. The headband and spangles are two culture traits which are completely typical of Andean culture.

302 The women know no other toilette other than the care given their hair. The evening before festivals those who feel the necessity [42] [24] [39] of redoing their plaits abandon themselves to the hands of a few friends who begin by brushing their hair with a brush (kˣara) made of roots (Fig. 5, E) or pig bristles (Fig. 5, F), which they soak in

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 164]

Caranga s -
Chipaya

/173/

301

/See captions on next page./

Carangas—
Chipaya

/173 cont./

Fig. 5. – Čipaya material culture. Clothing and accessories.

A: Diadem spangled with glass beads.
B: Woman's shirt of white wool (almil'a).
C: Cap of knitted wool (čpl'u).
D: Pin (pič-kits) which the Čipaya women stick in their hair.
E: Hairbrush (k^{w}ara or čaxraña) of roots.
F: Hairbrush of pig bristle.
G: Man's tunic (ira).

/178 cont./

1. Rosen (Eric von), Archaeological researches on the frontier of Argentina and Bolivia in 1901-1902. Stockholm, 1904, Pl. III, Fig. 1.

Like the latter, it is a rather crude imitation of old Spanish models. h Chipaya it was always a man who used this loom, while those of he native type were strictly reserved for the women. The designs f the cloth produced on these treadle looms very much recall those f our mills: those with stripes, chevrons, and squares and of a dark olor oscillating between grey, black, or brown. These materials re only used for cut garments, or European in origin, such as pants nd jackets.

/179/ The textile art of the Čipaya is fairly poor, inferior even to that of the Uro of Ancoaqui. We have already seen that the ornamentation of the different pieces of their national costume is limited to white borders or stripes of two or three colors. Most of their coca bags are hardly more varied in their decoration with the exception of a few rather small ones in bright colors which are a faithful imitation of the coca sacks which are widespread among the Aymara. The few rare Čipaya fabrics which have designs are themselves also nothing but bad copies of current Aymara models. The lack of initiative and experience of the Čipaya women is so great in this respect that they will hardly weave pieces of material with such a decoration however uncomplicated unless the latter have been begun in a neighboring Aymara village. They continue them exactly as a little girl who has been made a part of the work. These lessons in weaving given to the Čipaya women by their neighbors of a different race is a peculiar example of the way in which cultural exchanges between tribes can come about. I must add that the fabrics, the weaving of which the Aymara entrust to the Čipaya women do not remain the property of the latter, who work on them only as laborers and badly paid ones at that.

/198 cont./

Fig. 12.—Fragment of pre-Spanish belt found in a chullpa near Iscara (Carangas Province).

pendants depicting a female personnage, or laurake, found in Tiahuanaco bring us proof /199/ that in remote ages of the Aymara civilization women already had their hair parted into an infinite number of small braids. This hair style was also that of the pre-Spanish populations in the Atacama Desert: Boman has in fact published the skull of a woman from Calama, which he describes in these terms: "The black, stiff hair is divided on top of the head and forms numerous plaits on each side, the ends of which /Figure 14 appears here/ are tied with a woolen string. In each of these knots a strong cactus spine has been placed which serves as a hairpin. Certain Indians of the Bolivian Altiplano still arrange their hair in several plaits on each side, in the same manner as the ancient inhabitants of Calama." The women of the Ankcoccahua (Espinar Province) clan in Peru have kept up to recent years the custom "of dressing the hair in the back and of dividing the hair into a group of small, thin plaits joined together by strings of cotton or woolen thread which end in fringes, which gives them the appearance of a thick material. /200/ This hair style is called sakcapa, without doubt

Fig. 13.—Detail of a belt worn by Chipaya women.

/200 cont./

*171 301 it was indispensable to the Quichua women to hold back their flowing hair.

*171 301 531 /201/ The spangling was a method of ornamentation which must formerly have been widely diffused on the altiplano, as the following passage from Cobo bears witness (1): "The cloth that they

1. Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. IV, p. 206.

embroidered with Chaquira was held to be the most precious of all. This Chaquira were very fine little beads of gold and silver, and it was a wondrous thing to see how it was made; for the whole piece was decorated with these little beads, without the thread showing, in the manner of a very close netting." /Cited in Spanish./ Archaeology amply confirms the assertion of the chronicler.

*171 412 The distribution of the root brush has been made by Nordenskiöld (2).

[113]

2. Nordenskiöld (Erland), "Analyse ethno-géographique de la culture matérielle de deux tribus du Gran Chaco /Ethno-geographic Analysis of the Material Culture of Two Tribes of the Gran Chaco/," Études d'ethnographie comparée, I, Paris, 1929, pp. 144-148.

This is one of the numerous South American culture traits which have equivalents in the north of this continent. "I have," he said, "hairbrushes from the Mataco, the Choroti, the Ashluslay, and the Tapiete in my collection. These objects are also known among the Araukans /the Araucanians/, the Patagons /Patagonians/, the Peguenche /Pehuenche/, and the Yaghans /Yahgan/. Lehmann-

/202 cont./

191
415
[113]

and Doering (Heinrich).
Kunstgeschichte des alten Peru
/Art History of Old Peru/.
Berlin, 1924, Pls. 99-101.

[53] perpendicular rims, whose external circumference is often decorated with carving in relief. The shape and the stone in which they were often carved (serpentine) seems to exclude the possibility that they could have been used to grind any substance therein. In dimension and appearance they greatly recall the small vessels, also of stone, /203/ in which the Čipaya women husk quinua by treading on it. I am inclined to think that this was also the way in which these so-called circular mortars were also used.

*117
38 Weaving. The Čipaya method which consists of attaching
● [53] the loom to the belt instead of fastening it to two stakes as is customary elsewhere on the altiplano is also a survival of pre-Columbian times (1). On a lecythus of Trujillo, often reproduced,

[113]

1. This custom is not, however, general. Ronald L. Olson, "Old Empires of the Andes," Natural History, New York, Vol. XXXI, 1931, No. 1, p. 11, publishes the photograph of a woman of Marcamachay whose loom is fastened to the waist, and he informs us that the weavers of the equatorial altiplano still follow the same method.

where one sees some women in the act of weaving, one notices that they have their loom attached to the waist, passed around the body by means of a band covered with geometric designs (2). This

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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edge of the pontoons. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the pontoons and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. Though they may be bought for 10 to 16 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

MANUFACTURES

Uru material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus totora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for fishweirs, roof mats (pl. 117, *top, left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, balsas, sails, and even food for animals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been abandoned in recent times.

Basketry.—Crudely coiled baskets and twined tortora reed baskets are made.

Textiles.—The *Uru* make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the end bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but *Uru* women are very skilful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (*ojotas*), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's slingshots are very beautifully braided of wool with variolored diamond designs like the markings on snakes. The *Uru* also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for lashing loads on burden animals.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather cloth described by David Forbes (1870). The down of lake birds was spun into thread, and then knit into caps and children's socks and gloves. Only a few specimens of these exist in museums.

Weapons.—To make bolas, the *Uru* buy cotton thread from traders and wind this tightly around a cord V to make a durable bird-hunting weapon. A straw-cord bola perdida, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

Metals.—The *Uru* know no metallurgy, although the *Aymara* of Juaja de Machaca, scarcely a day's journey away, are famous for their

Tibetan Communities J-3 (no date) 1960 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

to individual families by the head of each moiety. The altitude and the high salinity make the land infertile, and crops are meagre. Sowing is done with a spade or sometimes a pointed stick, pushed into the earth with a strong thrust, forming a dry hole in which the seed is planted.

The people of the Andes have been master weavers for long over a thousand years. Modern Chipaya women carry on the art on looms like the ones their ancestors used, weaving the cloth for the family clothes from hand-spun llama wool. The women dress almost exactly as their ancestors did when the Spanish arrived. The basic garment is a rectangular skirt, woven in one piece with an opening left for the head. The blue sleeves that are sewn on are a modern addition. A black or gray tunic (*arkia*) with a decorative border is worn over this, covering the whole body from the shoulders to the ankles. This ancient style has been slightly altered under ecclesiastical influence; now most of the women sew up the sides to form a sort of shift. The *unkh* is woven with black and white geometric designs. An ample mantle completes the costume. Long pins with large flattened heads are used to secure the mantle, and as ornaments in the hair. When the sun is strong, they protect themselves with an *anku*ña, a folded cloth worn on the head, exactly like the ones shown on Inca pottery.

Perhaps the most striking pre-Columbian survival is the famous "Tiwanca coiffeur" still worn by many of the

[P 21-A]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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sifiova) for the manufacture of grass rope. This I noted was of two kinds, depending on its use: three-element braid for *bolas*, two-element true rope for twining the several kinds of mats, called *tawara*. The women make simple baskets too, or did until recently. These the women sell, as they do all other articles they manufacture.

The women spin (*pawaa*) llama-wool (*pawá*) as incessantly as the men make grass rope. Usually they use a whorl or spindle, weighted with the yarn already spun wound around it, sometimes freely suspended as they walk along the road to market, sometimes with a bowl when sitting; but they spin between the palms also. This yarn they weave (*wa'*[*i*]) into a coarse cloth on simple tension looms staked to the ground. Both men's and women's clothing is made of this native homespun. I was told that the Uru do not weave so much as formerly, because of an obscure superstition that "it will go bad with them after death"; but I observed several looms in operation at Ancoaqui. The cloth is woven and rolled on one of the end bars until nearly all the warp is used up; then the weaving is done from the far end leaving an open space which is filled in with a large needle after the heald-rod is removed. That is, they weave from one end, and when nearly finished, they weave from the other. Only women use the native ground loom and the men the colonial Spanish crude foot loom. There were none of the latter in operation at Ancoaqui during my stay but the adobe frame of one foot loom observed was similar to those of the Aymára. The women's wide girdles or *lazi* are woven on looms also. The colors of the cloth are usually black or natural wool color but sometimes they buy modern coal-tar dyes for brighter colors in their *coca*-sacks and the like.

Knitting is probably not pre-Columbian, at least in the current styles, but the women are very skilful in knitting *gorros* of the Aymára type (Uru *Ikara*), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. The men's slingshots are made of llama wool also, circular-braided in a number of very pleasing designs like the markings on snakes.* The felted wool hats I believe are not made by the Uru, but bought from the Aymára at Guaqui, Tiahuanacu and elsewhere. The Uru, however, do make thongs of twisted rawhide with the fur left on, as well as heavy "sugas" or woolen ropes for lashing burdens on llamas and donkeys. The Uru *bolas* (Aymará *liwi*, Uru *k'oki*) use cords unlike those of the slingshots which are woven,

* Bandelier wrote (*The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, New York, 1910) that there are no snakes on the altiplano whatsoever, but we killed a small one on the site of Bennett's diggings at Lacaxmata on the southern shore of Lake Titicaca. It was about 18" long, with greenish-gray spots on its back. It is called *anivo* in Aymará and grows to two or three feet in length.